1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the 621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is 361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the 614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The 613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and 773 hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom 613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings 592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest [114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was [595] named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few [597] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's [154] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell- 592

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are [305] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual [177] and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with [113] Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

been one that they had already learned during infancy. In any case neither parents nor older siblings scolded them for this behavior although it was often done in their presence. Kum showed considerable interest in the genitals of other males,* staring at those of his father and older brothers. Perhaps the discovery of his own penis as a source of gratification stimulated his interest in the genitals of others.

While a child is being weaned he must learn many new and independent habits for coping with pain. He has to warm himself by the fire rather than by contact with his mother's body. He must suffer the pain from pressure against his yaws sores, or change his position until the pain is relieved. He no longer has someone to brush the mosquitoes from him but must deal with them alone. He must go down to the spring with his older siblings and wash himself with cold water instead of being gently bathed by his mother with warm water. When it rains he must run into the house if he wishes to keep dry.

When a child is weaned he may no longer sit in his mother's lap by day nor lie by her side at night. This is apparently felt as the most severe frustration experienced at this period of life. No longer is it possible to attain the vantage point from which all drives have hitherto been satisfied.

Kum's behavior indicated an especially strong desire to be near his mother and to touch her. When she came back from work in the evenings he would usually clasp and hug her leg. When she left in the morning he would cling to her, begging to be taken with her. When she sat in the house making a net bag or cooking a meal, he would stand beside her and often lean against her shoulder. Chinuwa, the mother, would never allow him as much contact as he seemed to want. When he hugged her leg or leaned against her side she might tolerate it for a moment, but would soon push him away and tell him to stop annoying her. Kum reacted to one of these rebuffs by

* Both men and women in Kwoma society go naked with the exception of some of the young men who have, within the last few years, adopted the custom of wearing laplaps (calico wrap-around skirts) from their contact with Europeans, and a few of the younger women who have recently procured blouses from white traders.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[855] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

754 sorcerizing people? This place is no good." Then there would follow speculations as to who the guilty party could be. Comments like this were frequently made: "There were some children from Tug sib wandering about the hamlet this afternoon. The Tug train their children to steal sorcery material. We had better be careful with our food leavings." Or, "Yat asked me for my cigarette butt to get a light this afternoon. I do not remember that he gave it back. I'll bet that he kept it for sorcery material. He had better not try anything or I'll show him. If I get sick I'll know who is the cause of it."

The Kwoma preoccupation with sorcery is so marked that they are notorious for it. The river people look upon them as "man bilong poison." My Yambon houseboy was extremely nervous about being stationed at Kwoma and was constantly warning me of the danger of sorcery. He finally became ill and, being sure that some Kwoma who wished him ill was causing it, fled home despite my protestations. Gwiyap once told me that he wished I would take him to America, where, [177] I had told him, there was no sorcery. Some of the young men who had recently returned from working for European enterprises talked of banding together to put an end to sorcery.

754 627 683 It is not surprising that a person suspected of sorcery has a difficult time at Kwoma. Anyone caught stealing sorcery material may be killed on the spot, and his close relatives will receive little support in any plan for retaliation. If the relatives of a sorcery victim succeed in fastening on someone the responsibility for the victim's sickness, the sorcerer is in danger of his life unless he nullifies the magic and the sick man recovers.[31] To sorcerize a relative is a particularly heinous crime, and, if it were proved that a man had done such a thing, he would be ostracized from the community. Kwoma society permits a man to use sorcery only against someone who has committed a capital crime[32] against him or one of his relatives.

[31] This does not apply to sorcerers who work their magic for pay. The person who hires the sorcerer is held responsible for the crime. The professional sorcerer usually does not know the identity of the victim, but he is hated, feared, and if possible avoided.

[32] Rape, murder, arson, or sorcery.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

When a man does resort to sorcery, he is reputed to use the following technique. First he either steals or gets someone to steal sorcery material[34] from the person whom he wishes to injure. Then he either gives it to a noted sorcerer[35] to whom he pays a fee or, if he is confident in his own powers, proceeds himself. The sorcerer puts the sorcery material in a special, narrow-necked clay pot and places it on the fire. When the pot and its contents are very hot, he pours a small quantity of cold water into it. If the sorcery material completely disappears in the burst of steam which ensues, the victim will die; if some fragments remain when the pot cools, he will merely become very sick. The operator may not drink water during the process or the sorcery will not be effective. Another type of sorcery consists of inserting in the victim's food a white powder purported to be poisonous. Whether this powder is actually harmful I was unable to discover.

All deaths are believed to result from sorcery. Death repeatedly proves to the Kwoma the efficacy of this type of magic and increases everyone's fear of and anger against sorcerers. This is particularly true in the case of close relatives of the deceased. When a person dies, one of his relatives tolls the house tamberan gong in a slow, measured beat to announce the event to the tribe. I was on a hunting expedition with Sof, a young man who had recently returned from working on a white plantation, when the gongs of Sombundura house tamberan began to toll. He stopped in his tracks, and his jaws began to work. He said nothing for a minute and then in a very emotional voice spoke of the evils of sorcery. "This is a bad place. All anyone can think of is sorcery. That is all the old men think of. We young men who have worked for the whites are going to rebel against it. We are going to round up all the old men who practice sorcery and

sexual anxiety which was rooted in the Oedipus situation and which was evoked at this time by his courtship with Aya and the threats of Waramus.

[34] The Kwoma believe that food leavings, blood, sperm, and the feces of infants are effective materials for sorcery.

[35] No one ever publicly admits that he is a sorcerer, for to do so might mean death or ostracism. Many persons are believed to be powerful sorcerers and privately admit it, if it is to their advantage to do so.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

121 86 teachers which does not depend upon pain or fear is that of inciting. This consists of presenting to the pupil the verbal symbols which have been associated with reward along with instructions as to how to achieve such reward. The following [262] case will serve as an illustration. At a coöperative work feast [177] given by Nambomai, my Yambon houseboy, one of the foods prepared was stewed apricots. Gwiyap took it upon himself to teach some of the adults present to eat this food, which was hitherto unknown to them. To do this he said: "It is good. It tastes like ripe bananas." Afolawanj, an old man who was somewhat of a clown, was thus tempted to try some, but he had no sooner taken a mouthful than he spit it out, and refused to eat any more.

In the above case the drive was the appetite evoked by Gwiyap's statement that the stewed fruit tasted like ripe bananas; the response was eating; the cues were Gwiyap's instructions to eat and the sight, smell, and taste of the fruit; the reward was absent. Since there was no reward in this sequence it could be predicted that learning would not take place. The fact that Afolawanj did not again try the fruit is evidence that this was indeed the case. It could also be predicted that Afolawanj would have a decreased tendency to follow Gwiyap's instructions,[20] but I do not know whether or not this was true.

War's attempt to incite Mes and Mar provides a more dramatic instance of the use of this technique. When the Hongwam were planning a head-hunting raid on the Sowal, War, who was the prime mover in the affair, spent a whole evening at the house tamberan inciting Mar and Mes to go on the raid. He described to them all the advantages that they would gain from taking a head—that all the girls would want to marry them, that they could become members of *Nokwi*, that they would gain high prestige so that their words would be listened to at the court meetings, that their

[113] [20] This follows from the principle of extinction. When a response is not followed by a reward, the connection between this response and the preceding cues is reduced in strength. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. v; N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iii.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

and providing a new means of earning it, had set the stage for the extinction of a supernatural belief.

In sum, a number of factors seem to be responsible for the inculcation and maintenance of supernatural beliefs and practices. Kwoma teachers, having repeatedly warned their pupils concerning real dangers, are enabled to use this technique to teach their pupils to avoid dangers which do not exist. To make these unrealistic warnings more forceful, they describe the supernatural dangers as being similar to the real dangers from which their pupils have experienced pain. Imitation also plays as important a rôle as in the transmission of the other aspects of the culture. Despite all these forces which lead a Kwoma pupil to respect supernatural dangers, the effort and deprivation frequently involved in carrying out magico-religious rituals tend to make him omit them. Since such omissions would soon lead to the extinction of these habits, the sanctions of society, as implemented by punishments from his teachers, provide the ultimate force which prevents the pupil from discovering that these dangers do not really exist and do not have to be avoided. Finally, the teachers themselves continue to inculcate these beliefs because they are integral parts of institutions which as a whole are necessary for the satisfaction of the basic and acquired drives of the constituent members of Kwoma society.

[p. 222 is blank]

349 coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation
[179] brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The
262 natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we
123 were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us.
[417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the
[346] house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the
[198] front court could not see the sacred altar.

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has [197] [19] [291] [177] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising.
126 We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem
194 to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, ɛ, o, u and ʉ . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and r. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvcv.
126 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the
193 various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ba is the imperative particle, sage expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wé was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulusi and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bongus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bongus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Kambins, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bongus was the name of another tribe.

however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination-- mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

796 This is a 'singsing nothing' (hongwaiiu). It seems to be a ceremonial
346 affair, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the
[192] singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji korumpé' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first kwaté as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Waskuk, one for Bangus.
[177] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Hogwat,
[539] representing the Rumbina, Wenyabenkura, and Dawus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Hogwat throw themselves
[535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and
[533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the owi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leathernack' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his limegourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamberan on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamberans.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of Kumbina sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint and headed for home.

128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the anthropologist, but to record all of same in this would be too long a task. So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At those ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 123 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukau. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 123 183 My "monki", Gwiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raused' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 • 179 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

657 a half-day, he got a line representing between 80-90% of the recorded
177 population. At Tangwishamp the day before he had had a line of five old men who were not able to go off to the bush and hide with all the rest. One former medical assistant wrote under 'Remarks' in the village book 'it would be much easier herding sheep'.

657 From his inspection he concluded that the Kwoma are a very healthy
177 group of people. He had given us his tabulated results. The spleen rate
164 in children is rather high (they don't bother with adults), and filarial glands are found in one-third of the population. But framboesia is scarce and tropical ulcers few. Ring-worm is found in about one-sixth. After the inspection was over we dove into a half dozen bottles of beer which Max had brought for us.

657 The next morning the dispensary was set up outside our house and
177 treatment was given to those who had seemed to need it in the line the day before. Many more appeared than were called, all wanting the hypodermic injection 606, for framboesia. The fame of this is known to all, but beside its purpose it is expected to clear up any complaint that a person may have. Max was very good and gave over forty injections, handling the people very well. We told him the Hongwem term for hello, good-bye, etc. which he used to our friends great delight.

648 On the 12th we saw a pinnace going up the river; the second that has
657 gone up the river since our settling down here. Max told us that this was Assistant District Officer Ellis of Angoram who is going up to the Yellow River to dismantle the new station which is a failure. That means that after the first of the year Ambunti will again hold the title of being the most remote station in the territory--some say in the British Empire, but I doubt that. At any rate it sounds much worse than it really is.

657 123 179

December 13, 1969.[1] While sitting talking with Max, one of the children came in saying the child Suw was very sick. We went down to see him. His mother was sitting just outside the building, and the other girls were in the house. Wur, who was sitting on the hill beside the house, greeted us. Kis and Kar were standing around. Kwonai was there. We took Suw's temperature; it was normal. Then we stood looking at him and discussing the case. Max said, "He certainly looks sick." Our faces were rather long. All of a sudden we heard a sobbing and looked up to see Wur, his head on his knees, and his body shaking with sobs. Suw's mother began to cry a little too. We went and got some medicine, a mixture of dover powders, asperin, and marmite in warm water, then came back and gave it to Suw. He vomited it up immediately and with it some undigested boyna leaves. After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

[1] [i.e., 1936 - analyst]

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
● 177 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waramus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived, there was again a crowd of women in the house and
[754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leathernack (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leathernack took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leathernack gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat
[152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected
[571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

578 593 *lege kumori* were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: · Kis said that Daw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel papers before they were ripe.

123 177 439 *January 17, 1937.* The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Pit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Pit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wef's wife had [775] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring *gambas* (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's *narewboi* came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Nemb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Heyamakwa. They came about 11:00. Nemb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Ehiya boiled sago, and Mar had his family make soup. This was not expected by Nemb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Heyamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] [262] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Nemb had killed a gouria pigeon [123] [262] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [137] [262] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] [276] [522] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and Mey. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Ehiya, Pamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] 136 [576] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afok and Yokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mes is now our shoot boy, as Namb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mes realized that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Namb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the nɛ̃ɛ́sí tree is peeled off in short stripe (one to two feet long). These stripe are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is seperated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh seperately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 824 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berried used for dye are from two trees, *kɛ́ɛ́ndɛ́fí* and *nowí*, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant [245] the *nowí* trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [177] was brought to the Nongwem through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before [178] this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.